1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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sun god, and the various *dewatas*, is erected. The so-called *widi-widana* offerings are made to them.

The candidate priest inquires of his wives which of them are willing to follow him into the priestly class, since he must divorce those who are not. Often it is not until shortly before his consecration that the priest-to-be marries his chief wife, who must be of equal birth; in that case the consecration ceremony is to be preceded by the ceremony of filing her teeth. According to the *Siwasasana*, a priest without a chief wife may not lead an offering where there is a *sanggar tawang*, a bamboo offering platform with three compartments for the Hindu trinity. Such a priest is called 'a mountain that does not enjoy the protection of a deity'.

Before the twentieth century a candidate never officially requested his mentor for consecration without first having ascertained that the ruler approved of his becoming a priest.

7

The Request

In the early morning of the day of consecration the *apipinton* ceremony takes place in the *pĕmĕrajan*, the household temple. In this ceremony the pupil and his master gaze steadfastly at one another; this is the last time until the end of the solemnities that the pupil may look upon his mentor. At this time he also gives the *punyakĕrti* and the *jauman* to his *guru*. The *punyakĕrti* consists of a new set of clothing, a complete bed, a set of cushions, a parasol, and the priestly wage. The *jauman* comprises cooked and raw food, the adoption offering, eggs, coconuts, the six-part glutinous-rice offering, rice pastry, and various delicacies such as steamed rice with chopped coconut and red sugar, biscuits, and sugar pastry.

With these gifts the pupil presents himself to his mentor and begs him for his paternal love. His official request runs more or less as follows:

> Exalted *guru*, *siwa*, master among the yogis, grant the request I make of you in all humility. It is true that what I offer you is a trifle, and what I ask of you is incomparably great, for it is nothing less than your love that

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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family, to his community, and to the total of the Balinese people in a relationship that represents race and nationality to them. A woman who marries a Chinese, a Mohammedan, or a European automatically ceases to be a Balinese.

A Balinese feels that his most important duty is to marry as soon as he comes of age and to raise a family to perpetuate his line. A bachelor is in Bali an abnormal, incomplete being devoid of all social significance since only settled married men can become members of the village association. Even *pedandas*, the high priests, do not conform to the ascetic abstention favoured by orthodox Hindus and invariably marry.

Thus every Balinese centres all his hopes in having children, preferably male children, who will look after him in his old age, and, most important of all, sons who will take the proper care of his remains after he is dead, performing the necessary rites to liberate his soul for reincarnation, so it will not become an aimless wandering ghost. From paintings and temple reliefs, they are familiar with the fate that awaits the childless in Hades, the *swarga*, where a woman who dies without children is condemned to carry a gigantic worm suckling at her useless breasts. A man who does not obtain children from his wife has the right to divorce her and get back the money he paid for her; or if she dies or runs away, he remarries as soon as possible. Often the sterile wife will herself suggest and even provide for a second wife for her husband. There are, however, many childless couples that because of personal attachment or for economic reasons remain monogamous and are content to borrow or rather be given a child by a neighbour or a relative to bring up as their own.

CHILDBIRTH

To follow the development of their sexual life we shall begin the cycle of birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, and birth again, with the event of pregnancy, a great blessing to every Balinese household.

Most people we talked to had a quite correct idea of the physi-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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562 the *puri*, usually going out only in groups to festivals. The first
564 wife of the same caste as the husband (*padmí*) enjoys a higher
[837] status than a second wife (*madewí*), even though she may be
[595] of high caste also. Then there are those with a considerably lower status, the wives of low caste (*penawing, slir*), who are regarded as legal concubines. The prince does not usually appear at his wedding ceremony with a bride of low caste, and she is ceremonially married to his kris or to a tree. The wives of a prince live together in the *puri* and each has her own *balé*, placed according to rank, where the prince visits them by turns. A low-caste wife of a nobleman receives the title of *djeró*, and there are special titles to establish the status of their children. The son of a nobleman and a woman of lower class is of the caste of the father unless there is a great difference between them.

684 A man is not morally bound to be faithful to his wife, but in-
562 fidelity on the part of the woman is a dreadful crime, punished legally in old times with the death of the guilty couple. I was told of the case of a man of the aristocracy of Badung who found
682 his wife in compromising circumstances with a man of his caste, a relative besides. Out of his mind with rage, he clubbed them to death, then sent for the *pungawa* to give himself up. Calmly he asked for the alarm-drum not to be sounded, as is done in cases of violence when a man temporarily loses his mind and runs amuck. His wish was granted and he was led to jail. When the trial came up, his crime was taken lightly by the noble judges and he was given a short jail sentence. It is possible that in "civilized" society he would have gone free.

586 Ordinarily in a case of adultery the husband simply "throws
[837] his wife away" (*makutang*). Divorce laws are simple and easy. A man may claim divorce if his wife is sterile, quarrelsome, or lazy, but a woman has also the right to divorce an impotent man, or one who has some occult illness, is cruel to her, or fails to support her, although many women support themselves and there is no standard established as to what is non-support. A woman who wants a divorce simply leaves her husband's home,

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although he may try to bring her back by force. In any case she has to return the money dowry. 586

The divorce is performed by the village authorities (in whose judgment the case rests) by slight ceremonies, the most important of which is the breaking of a "yellow" *kepeng* (*pipis kuning*) by the husband and wife, to represent, perhaps, the breaking of the magic circle (completeness) of marriage.

Outside of caste and incest* taboos, there are no great marriage restrictions in Bali and there seems to be no objection to marriage with cousins, divorcees, a woman thrown out by her husband, and even with widows, against whom there was once revulsion on the part of the nobility, due to the now defunct institution of *mesatia* (suttee), by which the widows of a prince had to follow their dead master into the spirit world. A widow may marry when and whom she pleases as long as she has the permission of her family, her relatives-in-law, and her son, or of her own relatives if she has returned to her ancestral home. Marriage of a Balinese woman with foreigners — people of another race or religion — is permitted, although by the marriage the woman loses the right to be called a Balinese — again an emphasis on the importance of ancestral relations. 587 582 [835] [762]

* There is first- and second-degree incest. It is first-degree incest for a man to have relations with his mother, sister, half-sister, or the mother of his half-brother or sister. Second-degree incest is relations with aunts or with his father's or mother's cousins. Jane Belo: "A Study of a Balinese Family." *The American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, No. 1.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

other, because, the boy said, if he had married his sister he would not have been allowed to take any other wives, and although he was pleased with her, he did not care to commit himself to having only one spouse throughout his life.

In Batuan twins of a "small Satryă" family, whose titles are Déwă Gédé and Déwă Ayu, married each other and were happy for two years. Then a powerful man of higher rank (Satryă caste, Chokordă) stole away Déwă Ayu from her twin-husband. Both the young twin-husband and the father of the twins seemed distressed at this arbitrary breaking of the intended order.

These twins were brought up in the same house. But people often say that it is better if the children can be separated when they are small, so that they will be pleased to wed when they meet again at the marriageable age. A member of the Sĕngguhu caste (classed as Jabă, but on account of their priestly functions often considering themselves as good as Brahmans) told me that the twins should be placed as far apart as possible, for instance one in Bulèlèng and one in Badung (Dèn Pasar). He said "When twins are a boy and a girl, it is called *manak salah*, and people say that the boy brings his wife with him out of the womb, and therefore is like a god. The village in which it occurs becomes unclean, the subsequent *galungan* may not be celebrated in the village. Afterward the largest *mĕcharu* must be held to purify the village before it can take part in the *galungan* festivals. The people of the village are very angry when such twins are born.

"But the mother and the father are very pleased. The legend (*chĕritā*) is that this boy must become king, since he has brought his wife out of the womb, like the kings of old.

"After the time of banishment and the purification, the boy and the girl are separated while they are still very small, and placed in houses as far apart as possible, as in Bulèlèng and in Badung. When they have reached the marriageable age, they are brought together and married to one another. It is hoped if the legend comes true and the boy becomes king the wife will bring him power over

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

glih, and this appellation is still more polite and proper to be used by strangers, equals, and inferiors. All his younger brothers and cousins call him bli, elder brother. His own children, his nephews, and the children of his first and second cousins on both the male and the female sides call him bapă, father. In speaking of him, the children of his younger brothers and cousins may call him oeă, elder uncle (or aunt). His wife generally calls him bli, elder brother, or Ketoet, his title-name, and sometimes even bapă, as the father of her children. She, as his inferior, may not call him by his given name, Rendah. But he may call her by her given name, although he is more likely to use her title name, or to call her mémé, mother. When Tingglih's first child is born, Rendah and Rieh will be known as Pekak —— and Dadong ——, Grandfather of —— and Grandmother of —— followed by the given name of the child. Thus a man's own name tends to die out even during his own lifetime, as he grows older, and there is no one left to "speak down" to him. During this investigation I asked Rendah for the name of his own mother, who lives in the house with him. He could not remember, and was forced to inquire of the old lady herself. Her husband, Rendah's father, had been dead only six months. He alone of the household had the right to call her by her given name, and if Rendah could not remember it, the old man must not have availed himself of the right for many years.

Rendah's eldest sister, Wajan Koti, was married, and later "thrown away." She returned to her father's house. As Rendah has inherited house and household, she now lives within his courts, sharing in the work of the women.

prince), penawing, wife from lower caste, and sang keringan, concubine ("married to the kris" when already pregnant). (Princes may take concubines without marriage ceremonies, but if a concubine is going to bear the prince a child, the ceremonies are carried out with the substitution of the prince's kris, borne by his high priest, in place of the bridegroom—so that the child may be made legitimate, although the mother is of lower caste.)

Brothers, sisters, and all relatives are called ajamă (low) or semotonan (high). Elder brothers and sisters are called kakă. To address an older sister, or in polite usage any female older than one's self, mbok is used; to address younger brothers, sisters, or relatives, or in speaking of them, adi is used.

Child in the sense of "the child of ——" is pianak. For "a child" or "children," there is no word. Anak tjenik (polite) or anak tjerik (familiar) are substituted, which mean simply "small man." Anak in Malay means child in either of the above senses, but in Balinese it means man or person, as anak Bali, a Balinese, anak loeh, a woman.

Grandchildren are called tjoetjoe, great-grandchildren kelab or boejoet. Male and female great-grandparents are called koempi or koempiang.

Finally there are the terms matoeă, father-in-law, mantoe, son-in-law, and ipah, used for either brother- or sister-in-law.

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children, who have no fixed sleeping places, but are apt to visit about with their elders.

In the balé siang-sangă, which is a sort of family sitting room, also without walls, a place is found for the younger brother Dog and his wife Rawi. There are three platforms, and the children may also sleep here if they please. When guests are spending the night Dog and Rawi give up to them the largest bed, on a slightly higher level, to do them honor.

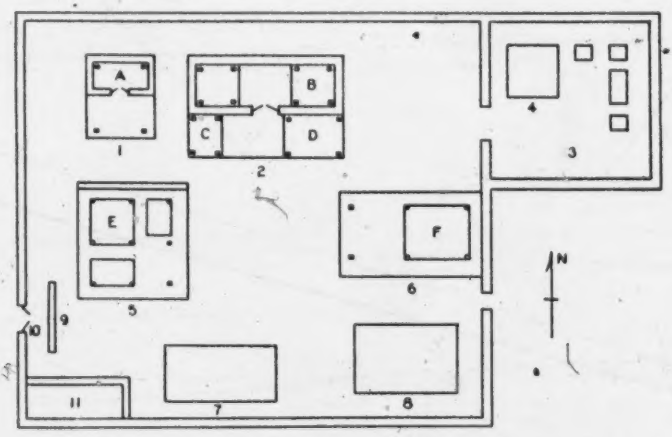

FIG. 4. Plan of the house of Rendah. 1, Balé Săkăpat, pavilion with four posts; 2, Metèn, house with inner room; 3, Sanggah, household temple; 4, Balé Piasan, pavilion for offerings; 5, Balé Siang-sangă, pavilion with nine posts; 6, Balé Sakanem, pavilion with six posts; 7, Paon, kitchen; 8, Djineng, rice-storing place; 9, Aling-aling, magic wall; 10, Kori, gateway; 11, Pigs. A, Koti; B, Dajoeh, Ngetis; C, Rieh, Tjeremé; D, Rendah, Adă; E, Dog, Rawi; F, Kintil, Dapet.

Koti, the eldest sister who was married and divorced, sleeps in a little room in the balé săkăpat, which is reserved for her.

The kitchen stands opposite to the metèn. East of this is the high pointed-roofed djineng, the rice-storing place. Behind are the pigs and fowls. Immediately opposite the entrance gate, blocking the court from the view of passersby and the attacks of evil spirits, is the aling-aling, a single strip of wall. The gate is a sort of stile, covered over by a thatched roof—you go up steps, through a doorway, and down more steps onto the roadway without. Cut into the mud wall on either side of the gateway are small niches used for offerings.

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Klepoeg's first wife seems to have been unsatisfactory, and was divorced. She had no children. Neither did her successor, Gijoer. Klepoeg obtained an heir by adopting the son of his brother. On Krèbèk, who moved away to another district, we have no information beyond the fact of his marrying twice.

It is of course impossible to draw any conclusions on polygyny from such a limited study. The cases mentioned only illustrate how the taking of a second wife is more strongly motivated by the need for sons than by an affectional urge towards the woman. It would be expected that the young men for whom initial marriages have been arranged would later wish to exercise an independent choice. But, as we have seen, even the second marriage may be an arranged one, between cousins. The Balinese say that a poor man who has one good wife can ill afford to take another. As a rule any wife who is not unfaithful, and who has borne a son, is considered "good." It is the son, in Balinese culture, who is of most importance—a social and religious necessity.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

It is generally said of Bali that marriage is by abduction, the husband subsequently making a payment to the bride's father, varying from 10,000 to 50,000 kepengs (value approximately 12 to 65 Dutch guilders). It is true that this custom is widespread, and prevalent in the districts around Den Pasar and Boeleleng, the big townships. It may be found surprising that no such marriage is mentioned in the study of Rendah's family. There is much evidence to show that the form of arranged marriage practiced in Rendah's family, planned to link the households of relatives and friends, and without monetary compensation, is the older and more characteristic procedure. In fact, the old men of Sajan say that in their generation (before the Dutch occupation) girls were often stolen from one village by the young men of an enemy village, but that, instead of the husband's making a payment to the bride's father, the father would make a payment to the young man so that the girl should be returned to her village and the marriage dissolved. To have one's daughter marry in a hostile village was to lose sight of her completely. They say that if the match is suitable the father asks no payment, and only if he were angry would he require compensation of the bridegroom. Cynical and commercial-minded young men of the towns say, "the father always manages to be angry, so that he will get the money."[7] But for the old-fashioned people of Sajan this is not true.

[7] Certainly it is considered decorous for the father to at least pretend anger at the ravishing of his daughter, just as the girl herself must weep and struggle to escape at the time of her capture, even though she has previously agreed, and helped to plot that capture.

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Rendah said to me, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to her cousin, whose house is across the street, "I would rather roegi [take a financial loss] than to have my child marry away from home. If she married in another village, I should have the money, but my heart would be sick."

Such a remark, reflecting a sentiment of paternal devotion, must not be taken only at its face value. The Balinese, like other races, often say things which "sound well," but do not render their complete thought process, and are therefore misleading. It is not to be assumed that a man like Rendah, in giving away his daughter to her cousin, is actually casting to the winds a profit of ten or twenty thousand kepengs, having weighed them as nothing beside the possibility of losing sight of his child. Certainly he would prefer to have her near home. But to have her marry into a family with which he already has an established relation of favors given and received is more satisfactory than to set up a new link with a family of comparative strangers. And if he should accept compensation, he would be sanctioning a system which would not profit him in the end, for might not his own sons then have to pay for their brides? It would seem that these indebtedness relations are best carried on within the family group.

In connection with this it must be mentioned that sister-exchange between parallel cousins, maternal or paternal, is not permitted. This statement was made to me by various informants. None mentioned the prohibition of sister-exchange between cross-cousins, nor between unrelated families. I did not find any reference to sister-exchange in Balinese texts. The term used for the forbidden sister-exchange of parallel cousins is malik-terbalik, meaning a reversal, a going and coming. Malik may be a Balinese form of the root balik, although balik or walik are those commonly used in other connections; terbalik is definitely a Malay form, foreign to the Balinese language. But as many informants speak Malay fluently, and consider it a more polite usage to foreigners, the form of the term is not a proof of the late introduction of the taboo.

The difference in the two marriage schemes, that of the arranged marriage as against the marriage by abduction, reflects on the divorce. A woman may be "thrown away" by her husband for various reasons: she is barren, quarrelsome, or unfaithful. She may either return to her father's house, or, if she has a lover, marry him. Whether or not a payment has been made to the father, the father does not have to make any restitution to the husband in case the marriage fails. But the lover or second husband must in either case pay compensation money to the wronged husband. This is rather more expensive than the cost of an unmarried girl, for besides the cost of the woman, a fine must be paid to the community.

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626 This is part of the old village law, now taken over by the courts—a sort of
586 punishment and compensation for disturbing the "balance" of the social
587 group. I have known a case of an unusually fickle woman, who passed from one husband to another in such rapid succession that none had had time to pay for her before being deserted. Husband No. 4 found himself sued for a sum in which each of her previous husbands had a share: No. 4 was to pay No. 3, who owed No. 2, who still had not paid No. 1. The father also had a claim, but with faint hopes of recovery.

586 A wife who is maltreated by her husband has the option of returning to her family, where she will be graciously received if they do not consider her in the wrong. At the present time, if she can prove her husband's delinquency in the courts, she may obtain some right over the children. However, even under the old regime, a husband has been known to allow the wife to bring up the children in a separate establishment, although they are considered chiefly his, and the descendants of his ancestral line.

583 There was the case of a girl for whom a marriage was arranged with
584 her cousin, the son of her father's elder brother. Her father had died, leaving his wife with four girls and a baby boy, and no one to provide for them. The cousin's branch owned house and land, whereas the girl's family had nothing, not even the space on which their house stood. Her father had occupied the land as tenant-farmer to the Tjokordă, and after his death, as there was no man left to till it, the land was forfeit. Obviously the marriage of the eldest daughter to her cousin would have been advantageous, and all her relations urged her to agree to it. The wealthy branch could have advanced the money needed to buy the land on which her house stood, and thus saved the house for her mother and sisters, and eventually a heritage for the small brother. But the girl resisted all persuasion to the match. Finally the grandmother resorted to a ruse. She came to the girl, asking her to prepare medicine for her cousin, lying ill with a fever. The girl collected the necessary herbs and spices, pounded them together, and brought them to her cousin's house. Although she hated him, she could
[602] not refuse to help a relative in illness.

"He lies within," said the grandmother, indicating the metèn, the room enclosed with walls. "Take it in to him."

The girl entered the room. At once the old woman pulled the door to, and bolted it on the outside. The young man leapt up from the couch to embrace his unwilling bride.

583 For several days the girl was kept a prisoner. When they began to relax
586 their vigilance, she ran away, but her cousins always pursued her, and brought her back. They believed that once used to the young man, she

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would give in. After a time she did relent, and when a month had passed, agreed to the purification ceremony, mesakapan, which solemnizes a marriage. But within three days of the ceremony she could stand no more, and again escaped. It was too late to return to her home, especially as her mother and sisters had been in favor of the marriage from the beginning. She ran away to the town, where she lives at the present time, kept by an Arab merchant.

This case suggests that the women can, and sometimes do, rebel against marriages arranged with their cousins. Certainly with the peaceful times under the Dutch administration, when it is safe to visit other villages without fearing assault, and the increased freedom of communication by motor-bus and bicycle, the young people are more apt to resist an unwelcome marriage. There is infinitely more opportunity for a free choice, based on mutual attraction, than there was. In the old days, living in the enforced isolation of the village surrounded by hostile camps, if a girl refused her cousin or neighbor she might get no husband at all. Also, she was the more likely to be pleased with him, so few were the youths of her acquaintance with whom she might compare him.

We have seen that marriages of first and second cousins, both maternal and paternal, are frequent, and that no special distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins. In Balinese the name for them is the same: misan, first cousin, mindon, second cousin, whether paternal or maternal, whether cross or parallel. Marriages of third cousins are more difficult to trace, as there is no term for them other than the general term for brother, relative, njamă (low Balinese), semotonan (high Balinese).

The ordinary incest taboos are as follows: a man may not have sexual connection with his mother, his sister, his half-sister, or the mother of his half-sister or half-brother (that is, his mother's co-wife). The penalty for this first degree incest, according to records of ancient adat, includes immediate banishment from the formal limits of the village, a great purification ceremony with animal offering to the bad spirits, and sometimes a rite whereby the offending pair are dressed in the yokes worn by pigs, and made to approach on all fours and drink out of a pig's drinking trough.[8] Subsequently the two are to be banished from the village for life and their lands confiscated. As such banishment in the old days left them no recourse but to wander off in the jungle, there to be hunted by wild beasts or to face death from starvation, the punishment amounted in fact to a death sentence. No other village would take in people banished from their own

[8] Recorded as part of the adat of the village Boeoengan, district of Bangli (Ida Bagoes Made Hadipta in Bhâwanâgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 71).

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B 833 428 [177 643] [105 cont.] the income of the prince. With the disappearance of royal rule on Bali and Lombok, this evil, the so-called mandjing system, came to an end.

B 586 692 Divorce is possible on Bali, either by unilateral repudiation on the part of the man or by mutual agreement. The divorce decree can also be promulgated by the native court, the council of Kerta.

B 583 A special feature of Balinese marriage is that the bride price, which is usually very large, is actually paid only in exceptional cases; this form of marriage is called mepadik. More commonly the girl is abducted; this abduction, which takes place with the prior knowledge of the girl and her parents, is called merangkat and serves as an escape from all the formalities and heavy payments involved in a bride price marriage. A sacrificial repast is sufficient atonement for the offense against the adat and to avert any possible evil consequences. If the father is recalcitrant, it appears that bride price has to be paid, but in this case it is a smaller one. A bride price four times as high as the normal one has to be paid after a melegandang, an abduction against the will of the girl. Apart from that, the young man must flee with the girl to another village and stay there in hiding for a time. Formerly, the members of the girl's family were even allowed to kill the young man if they caught him within a certain period of time.

B [689 671] [681]

J 101 174 J 621 J 592 596 J 621 e. Java. We are now approaching Java, the island where, for many reasons, native society is most highly developed (seen, that is, from our Western point of view), and therefore the only jurisdictional communities, except for the independent, native associations, the dèsa, are territorial units. The household [gezin, household or nuclear family] is of great importance, as it is everywhere, but it is not a jurisdictional community, nor is the family [familie], the larger group of relatives. Indeed, in contrast with the situation in so many areas of the Outer Provinces, the family has little significance among the Javanese. Of much greater importance for [106] the Javanese is the dèsa, the native community

organization, however, the mother, who brings up the children and who is capable of supporting the children, may be made responsible for doing so, in addition to the father. If, in case of conflict, decisions have to be made, the interests of the child are the most important factor.[1]

The influence of guilt on the determination of property disposition has been mentioned above, and the consequences of divorce with respect to the property will be repeatedly mentioned in the treatment of the law of marital property.

C. MARITAL PROPERTY

The families that come into being by marriage require a material foundation. The husband and wife (with their children) must carry on life jointly as a family unit, and for that purpose they must have goods at their disposal. Where the kinship unit has great social significance as a community, family property is distinguished from the kin group property. Sometimes the boundaries are weak and evanescent; sometimes distinct and clearly visible. Where the kin groups do not occur as organized units, the families with their possessions are the delimited nuclei of the communities, but nevertheless the close kin group relationship extends over the families and exerts an influence on the legal status of the family property. Counter to the kin groups as communities, the family emancipates itself; it lives in a daily equilibrium with these larger groups, but also in a certain tension. In more advanced relationships it is in process of wresting itself free, or has wrested itself free, from the closed character of the organized kinship group. Vice versa, the claim of the kin group as an unorganized group of relatives asserts itself again and again. By the law of matrimonial property the family possessions are kept in their place between the two poles of unequal strength, the kin group and the family.

Generally speaking, a fourfold distinction can be made with respect to family property: (a) property that is given to or has accrued to one of the spouses from his or her kin group as a result of partition or inheritance; (b) property acquired by each of the marriage partners for himself, before or during the marriage; (c) property acquired in common by the marriage partners during the marriage; (d) property presented jointly to the couple at the time of marriage.

1. *Inherited property.*—It is a generally valid principle of Indonesian adat law that property obtained from one's own family by

[1] [i.e. in cases of divorce -- analyst]

inheritance or partition remains in the native possession of that spouse from whose family the property originated. Such property is called "pimbit" (Ngaju Dyak), "sisila" (Macasser), "babaktan" (Bali), "asal," "asli," "pusaka" (Java, Malay), or "gana," "gawan" (Java). In case of divorce the possessions accordingly remain with the marriage partner possessing them, and after the death of the native possessor, property does not pass outside the kin group; especially, it does not pass by inheritance to the other spouse, and perhaps for that reason, in Java it does not pass to adopted children, either. People say that this is in order that the property shall not get lost. Among the Minangkabau, kin group property can never be assigned by partition, and it cannot pass by inheritance to an individual member of the extended family group. As to this matter, the small family, or the branch of the family group, stands out but feebly, in consequence of the right of utilization of the extended family possessions.[14] But nearly everywhere else, the separateness of kin group property, which has been made family property, is sharper. Possessions, which are given to the marrying woman as wedding outfit, sometimes (among the Pasemah, for example) remain her possessions, even in a patrilineal system, and pass by inheritance to her children; and in the event of her dying childless they pass to her husband. Although, in case of divorce, the wife takes them back with her to her own family group. Lands, which were given to the woman as a bridal present among the Bataks, pass to her husband (and to her) in native possession, although every disposal embracing them requires consultation with the wife's extended family. If there are children, then they are the natural successors in the following generation to the possessions inherited through the parents or received by way of partition. (See pp. 195, 204.) Children are the focus where the differentiated family property of the parents joins as property of one kind (namely as "barang asal"). Among the Dyaks, the concept of "pusaka" comprises in addition to inherited possessions those objects (of a magical nature) which one obtains, for example, as marriage payment or as booty, and which are predestined to be transferred as inheritance to the heirs. In contrast with "pusaka" in the general sense of "sacred possession," are the possessions acquired by individual labor, by no means "holy" for the obtainer, which the Ngaju Dyaks lump

[14] The "ganggam bauntuig" of the "harta pusaka" (see, pp. 97 and 126), similar to the family right to "pusaka" goods in Ambon.